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NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CALIFORNIA,

By JAIME DE ANGULO AND L. S. FREELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

In the summer of 1926 I had occasion to stay for a few days [1] at Fort Bidwell, in the extreme northeastern corner of California, where a number of Indians, mostly "Paiutes" as they are called in those parts, are congregated around the Government Agency. The Agent, Mr. O. C. Gray who knows personally almost every individual of the tribes located in that part of the country and who is trusted by them, extended to me all possible courtesy and help, and through his efforts I was able to get in touch with some excellent informants who gave me what they could of their time after working hours and this without remuneration. During the day their wives when they were not cooking or otherwise engaged around the camp also helped me.

These men were Perry Parker and Bige Archie. Then too I met George Townsend, a very old man living in his shack at the "Indian Camp" on the outskirts of town. He claims 1840 as his birth-date. At any rate he was old enough to act as scout to General Crook. If it had been possible for me to remain there longer I could have obtained a great deal of very valuable information from this genial old fellow. As it was I had to limit my inquiries to certain questions of culture that interested me from the point of view of diffusion, especially in regard to the culture of the Californian Northeast, and more especially still in regard to the diffusion of culture traits from the Plains area into California. It seems to me more and more clear that Kroeber is quite right in claiming all the Interior Basin area for California [2], to form a culture province apart, with a

1. I should add however that in the last few year I have often come in contact with Paiutes living among the Pit River Indians.

2. For the latest expression of Dr. Kroeber's point of view see the recently published *Handbook of Indians of California*, Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Bul. 78, especially pp. 915, 916.

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typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develope this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 2, 1909.

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To the north and to the south the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

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133 falling into the head waters of the Sprague River where Klamath-Modoc territory begins. All this stretch of rocky, barren country acted probably as another ill-defined boundary between Paiutes and Modocs.

101 619 To the north and to the east generally there was a continuity of habitat and speech between this particular band of Paiutes and other Paiute bands (Burns, Pyramid Lake, etc.).

These people call themselves *neĭm·ĭ* (e. g. *nĭ neĭm·ĭ non·o* = I Paiute man [I am a Paiute]). They apply this term to all the people who speak [197] their language, or any language that appears to them similar, for instance the Bannock, the Shoshoni, and even the Utes. None of my informants was acquainted with either one of the terms Paviotso or Mono.

Here are the names by which they designate neighbouring groups of Paiutes :

Burns Agency	*sa'iBĭ*
Silver Lake	*Toba'Te P·i*
Duck Lake	*TiBĭ'san·in·a*

Names of other tribes of alien speech :

Pit River	*esi'sawi*
Klamath	*Pakwi Diqa*
Modoc	*sai'i Diqa*
Maidu	*TaKone*
Warm Spring Indians	*aga'Tse*
White man	*TaiBo'o*

621 They recognize several local bands or sub-bands among themselves, as follows :

Fort Bidwell	*Tiziyamoso*
Lake City	*Pana'DzaTa*
Cedarville	*azawomoTaTya*
Eagleville	*Pibĭ-Kan·o* ("duck-hunters")

361 621 They evidently congregated at certain "winter-grounds" and there built their more or less permanent winter-houses, after roaming and moving camp throughout the country in summer time, which is also the practice of their Pit River neighbours.

622 Their chiefs do not seem to have wielded much power except when they happened to be born leaders with strong personalities. This is also the case with the Pit Rivers except that the Pit Rivers have a strong feeling for lineage : a weak man, however much the son of a chief, is neither respected nor listened to, but the converse does not obtain, and a

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man must have an exceptionally strong personality to acquire leadership if his father was not a chief. These Paiutes seem to have had much less cohesion in their local groups than did the Pit Rivers. The Paiute groups impress one as having been simply loosely organized bands forever wandering over their semi-desert country.

Houses.

The houses, we are speaking now of the winter quarters (for in the summer wanderings any kind of lean-to, wind-break or shade was sufficient), were made of several layers of tule matting stretched on a framework of willow poles, with a door and a smoke-hole. They were large enough to hold fifteen or twenty people. It is said they were quite warm even in this country of severe winters. This seems hardly believable in view of the fact that they were not covered with a layer of earth (this could not be done on account of the flimsy framework of willow poles). Neither was a pit dug for the house site. The roof was dome-shaped.

In the matter of the houses therefore lies an important point of differentiation between the Northern Paiutes and the Californians. The California house is always a substantial affair, built to stay, to last at least for ten or twenty years until the timbers have rotted and the roof caved in. Such are the ceremonial, and dance houses, and club houses of Central California. In the northeast, with the Pit Rivers, this type of house assumes the proportions of an immense communal dwelling, with two whole pine trees for ridge-poles. Fifty or sixty people would shut themselves up for the hard winter months in this sort of semi-subterranean hall. While among the Klamath-Modocs, if I understand Dr. Spier rightly, the house is also semi-subterranean, with heavy timbers, slabs of bark, and a protective layer of earth, but in some particulars of construction (four center-posts, etc.) it recalls the houses of the tribes further to the north. At any rate, whether we have two or three foci for the dug-in, heavy-timbered, earth-covered winter-house, or only one center of distribution, the Paiutes seem to have been well out of it. Yet they have timber in their country, at least this particular band has pines and junipers in plenty. But it would seem as if in this respect at least they had followed another bent, one dictated by the peculiarly roaming and nomadic tendency of all the Plateau Shoshoneans. It is noticeable how in modern days they have all accepted the tent to a much greater extent than have for instance the Pit Rivers.

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Sweating, and Sweat-Houses.

515 The subject of "sweating" as a partly religious, partly social, partly
95 hygienic process, is an important one in the aboriginal life of America.
783 There are two essentially different methods : the steam method and the
dry heat method. The typical Californian method is the dry heat. Typi-
[171] cal Californians never heard of producing steam by pouring cold water
on hot stones. This steam method (with the small, we may even say
[343] diminutive hut of skins, mats, or blankets stretched over a frame of wil-
low wands, in which the "bather" sits, or rather crouches), is found to-
[171] day in great use among the Pit Rivers, the Klamath-Modocs, and also
among the Paiutes. But careful inquiry brings out the fact that the
[174] introduction is recent. "It came about forty years ago, from up north,
from the Warm Spring Indians" is the reply I have received from many
people. The Pits, in the early days, when they wanted to sweat, made
a big fire in the winter-house, men and women dancing and shouting
around it, and then everybody rushed out and jumped in the river. As
for the Paiutes, they say that they simply never sweated before. It seems
that even now the custom is not well established, and that some of the
old men frown on it.

Clothing.

291 The clothing is essentially like that of the Plains area in contrast to
[171] the Californian clothing, or rather absence of clothing. Thus the men
wore trousers or leggings of the chapparreras type, of buckskin, with
fringes, and likewise a buckskin shirt with fringed sleeves. The leggings
were also used by the Pit Rivers, but, it would appear, more rarely. The
shirt was even less customary among them. The natural adjunct of the
chaparreras type of trousers is the breech-clout, passing from front to back
between the thighs, and held in place by a gee-string. Both tribes made
use of the breech-clout. But it is significant that, at the same time, the
loin-cloth, i. e. a sort of kilt or apron, was used by both as an alternative.
There is a technical name for both kinds of clothing in each tribe. The
statement of informants is that "some men wore it that way, some men
wore it the other way". Now a loin-cloth with chaparreras is quite incon-
ceivable. They do not go together. This indicates, to my mind, that men
[170] sometimes wore the Plains costume, which was only a recent acquisi-
[174] tion (say a couple of generations), but that the conservative and less in
fashion still adhered to the original California-Basin mode of wearing
nothing but a kilt.

The women wore the buckskin robe or dress characteristic of the Plains, reaching from the neck to below the knees, with short sleeves. Now it is to be noted that the Pit River women (who usually wore only the California skirt made of strings of pine-nuts or beads) sometimes donned a coat or shirt, usually of coyote hide, tied over one shoulder with the other shoulder bare, which is strangely reminiscent of the Southwest. As for the Paiute, my informant affirmed that they never did it that way.

The men wore their hair in two braids, the women loose over their shoulders (as did also the Pit Rivers). The men wore no hats, and the women a basket-cap (also like the Pits).

The type of mocassin is again typically un-Californian. It is the same as that found among the Pit Rivers and the Modocs (altough these two peoples make the California kind as well, i. e. with the seam down the front). It is made from buckskin, with the upper and the sole cut in a single piece, then folded over, so that it has no seam along the inner edge of the foot. The seam is only along the outside, and around the tip of the toe and heel. The half of this piece which is to form the upper is cut wider than the sole-half, and has a slit in it to admit the foot. This slit extends from the back well down toward the toe. The shape is very much like the uppers of some of the Plains mocassins, with the difference that the latter have separate soles. Two other pieces of buckskin are added: one, a small triangular piece is fitted in over the instep, the other is added at the back. The latter is a distinctive feature, and it has a special name. It acts very much like the upper of a modern shoe, except that it is held in place by two thongs of buckskin. These are wrapped around the ankle several times, and then tied. The whole affair fits the foot as snugly and neatly as a glove. It is certainly far from the ungainly Californian mocassin.

The Paiutes, like the Pits and the Modocs, also wore true *leggings* of tule, and mocassins (also of tule), or of sage-brush fiber, in times of rain and snow.

Weapons of hunting and war.

They used the short, flat bow, sinew-backed, which is characteristic of the Californians also. The method of shooting was however different: the arrow is laid against the left-hand side of the bow and the bow is therefore held in an oblique position with the upper end to the right instead of to the left. Furthermore the bow is held in a more perpendicular position. The Pits, and probably most of the Californians, laid the arrow on the right hand side.

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arrow on the right hand side. The "release" is the *primary*, i.e. with the arrow held between thumb and index, but with the thumb uppermost (as with the Pits, while the Pomo and Lake Miwok hold the hand in the reverse way, with the thumb underneath).

For rabbit hunting, besides blunt arrows, they used the throwing-stick (of which I have never heard among the Pit Rivers), and also snares and nets. The Pits, and all the Californians used snares for rabbits. Nets are less common in California. Nets are associated with "communal hunts" or battues, many people spreading in a semi-circle that advances gradually through the sagebrush with many cries and noises, converging towards the line of nets, scaring the rabbits into them in great numbers. This is certainly a typical Shoshonean custom. The Pits also practised it, but to a lesser degree.

Another Paiute weapon which I have not found among the Pit Rivers is the "poggamoggan" type of war-club : a heavy round stone encased in buckskin and hanging from the end of a short handle.

They used elk-hide armor, like the Pit Rivers, but no shield or parflèche in the Plains style.

Agriculture.

They did not practice the planting-cultivating type of agriculture, but like the Californians they were adepts at harvesting wild roots and seeds. They used a digging-stick of mountain-mahogany, *without handle*. The Pits, on the other hand, use a digging-stick with a handle, made of a separate piece of wood fitted across the top of the stick in T-shape.

Foods.

Like most of the Californians, the Paiutes ate everything they could find in their arid habitat, including grasshoppers, crickets, caterpillars, and dogs, but not snakes (in many parts of California the dog was considered poison, but certainly not among either Pits or Paiutes). They also ate fish, especially trout and salmon. The latter they obtained by trading, in the form of dried slabs or ground powder. It is well to remember that many Plains tribes consider fish poison. Rabbits were a much more important article of diet than deer or antelope, for obvious reasons. They of course ate many water fowls, such as ducks, geese, swans, and so on, which visited in countless numbers the lakes of that region [1]. But

1. Since the drying up of the lakes owing to the increasing use of the streams to irrigate the farm lands, the water fowl have almost entirely disappeared.

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the main food supply was undoubtedly wild roots and seeds. In this the Paiutes were absolutely like the Californians, except that they had no acorns and did not even obtain them by trade (as did the Pit Rivers from their neighbours), so much so that in this respect at least they belong in Wisler's "Area of wild seeds". They use the same methods of preparing, cooking and preserving seeds and roots as the Californians, such as boiling mush in baskets by means of hot stones, baking roots in the ground, and roasting seeds and pine nuts by shaking them with hot coals in basket trays. However they do not appear to have used mortars and pestles but only metates and grinding stones, altough this piece of information is somewhat open to doubt. At least George Townsend asserted it most emphatically for his group.

Ceremonies. Religion.

I have very little information to contribute on this subject. These people seem to have been as deficient in ceremonialism and organized religion as their Pit River neighbors. Shamanism, i. e. "doctoring", was as well developed as among the Pit Rivers, and of the same type apparently. It was a matter of "power" acquired by the doctor through his constant thinking, preoccupation and intercourse with all the mysterious forces of the world in more or less incarnate and semi-animal forms.

One thing in particular separates them sharply from the Californians, viz. the absence of puberty ceremonies. My informant knew these quite well, and even described them accurately for the Pit Rivers, but he positively denied them for his own people.

The very little that I heard of tales and myths sounds like the usual stock-in-trade of "trickster tales" of the Pacific seaboard, with the emphasis laid on Wolf and Coyote, as the two brothers who make the world. Coyote is the Fool, as usual. But neither he nor Wolf appears to assume the more respected and serious role of a half-god, as among the Central Californians.

Miscellaneous.

The Paiutes made rabbit-skin blankets in the usual manner.

They smoked tubular pipes of stone. I have obtained however one pipe consisting of a stone bowl with a separate wooden stem, which George Townsend said his own father had made. This is a type frequently found among the Klamath-Modocs, and George Townsend admitted that his own people very seldom made them that way.

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501 They used the tule "balsa" on the lakes. There are of course no navigable streams in their country.

498 They used dogs for packing, but not with the travois method. I never heard of the Pit Rivers using dogs for packing.

Résumé.

105 191 These Northern Paiute of California exhibit even fewer characteristics of the culture of the Plains than seems to be the case with other Great Basin Shoshoneans, as indeed might be expected. In fact, except for certain traits wich are probably of recent introduction (say, after the arrival of horse culture), and which the Pit Rivers also possess though less intensively, it would be hard to differentiate them from what may have been the *primary* type of culture of the California-Great Basin province, One might therefore class them as Californians. On the other hand, they lack those characteristics of a *secondary* and more recent layer of culture which have their focus in north-central California (solid houses, ceremonial complex, exceptionally fine basketry raised to the level of an art, etc.) [1].

It would seem then that here we are at the dead point between the reach of influences from those two centers: Plains, and Central California. Or rather we may say that the "secondary" culture of California which has but very feebly penetrated the Pit Rivers, has died at the western base of the Warner Range and left the Paiutes untouched, while many Plains characteristics have infiltrated the Pit Rivers.

LANGUAGE.

General Impression.

190 193 This dialect of Shoshonean (probably to be classed with Bannok) gives the impression of being a rather simple and transparent language of the analytic type. At least this appears to be its present stage. There are however many signs which suggest that the bare and sparse morphology is to be looked upon as a result of a process of breaking down or wearing off of older and more complex forms.

Phonology.

194 (The symbols used are those recommended by the American Anthropological Association, [Smithsonian Publication 2415]).

1. See Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*, *passim*.

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The phonetic system of Northern Paiute appears to be rather simple. For an accurate analysis based on experimental methods, see *Phonetic Elements of the Northern Paiute Language* by T. T. WATERMAN, U. of Cal. Publ. Vol. 10, No. 2. For the purposes of dynamic phonetics from the point of view of significant sound-patterns the following cadre, although only a schematic reduction, represents the reality fairly well:

I. CONSONANTS.

		LARYNGEAL	GUTTURAL	PALATAL	FRONTAL	LABIAL
Plosive Intermediates		'	*p K G*		*T D*	*P B*
Fricatives	surd	*h*			*s c*	
	sonant		*g*		*z*	
Nasals			*ŋ*		*n*	*m*
Liquids					*l*	

II. SEMI-VOWELS.

y more vocalic than consonantal (tendency to diphthongize *ya, ye*, etc. to *ia ie*, etc.)

w more vocalic than consonantal: more labial than guttural (*wa, we* tends to sound like *ua, ue*)

III. VOWELS.

u, o, a, e, i between the "close" and "open" positions.
ü, ə ("unrounded u and o")

The preceding table represents in a gross way what seemed to me to be the "ideal" functional scheme of Northern Paiute phonetics. Many other sounds occur besides, but they appear to be either sporadic or deviations from type through the influence of juxtaposed sounds.

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194 It will be noticed that in the *plosive* series I have eliminated both true surds and true sonants, and reduced everything to the *intermediate* level, writing *P* or *B*, *T* or *D*, etc. according as my own subjective impression leaned towards the surd or the sonant. In the guttural position the velar *q* undoubtedly occurs and with such frequency that I am in doubt whether it does not really replace the *K* in the ideal scheme. Furthermore it is quite often markedly aspirated (*q'*), and often even degenerates into x in rapid speech. The "glottal catch" when final is apt to be followed by a voiceless echo-vowel (*a'ᵃ*).

The *b* sound is of the ordinary type of "inverted affricate" as in English.

In the *fricative* series the absence of x is notable. The absence of bi-labial f and v is easily compensated by the semi-vowel *w*, but I must also note that the *B* has often a bi-labial spirantic quality (β). There is however no tendency for *P* to appear as φ (in other words no tendency to aspiration : *Pʰ*). *s* and *c* appear to be equivalent. The absence of affricates (*ts*, *dz*, etc.) is notable.

In the *liquid* series *r* is absent.

All the vowels are intermediate in position between the close and open articulations, with a fairly wide margin of variability. This is especially true of the "unrounded back-vowels", where there is perhaps only one ideal type, namely *ɨ*, but this vowel often appears as an undoubted *ɨ*, and again as either *o* or *e*. This is rather strange and would indicate the possible presence of "ablaut" changes which have escaped me.

The tendency to *unvoicing* final vowels, even when the preceding syllable is not particularly accented, is so marked that is sometimes amounts to true "whispering". This is of importance in regard to the possible gradual loss of "endings".

Dynamic stress is not marked, but there is an evident tendency to interpolate obscure unaccented vowels as a sort of transition between words (as in southern French), resulting in a pseudo-accentuation or peculiar lilt.

Lengthening of vowels often appears in my notes, but may perhaps be only the result of over-careful enunciation on the part of my informants.

A peculiar sound occurs rather frequently : *TsKw*, in which the *w* element is voiceless, whispered and often followed by a weakly-articulated whispered *i*.

MORPHOLOGY

The Noun.

The noun occurs most usually as a pure radical. Affixes are very few. 193
There is no sign of the plural either through affixation, reduplication or symbolism. That at some preceding stage the language divided nouns into generic classes (somewhat like the Latin declensions), would appear probable from the fact that many nouns end in the same way. The ending in... *P*^{i} (or such variations as *Pi*, *Bi*, *P*, *B*, *Pĭ*, etc [bear in mind the evident tendency to the *unvoicing* of vowels in certain positions spoken of in the Phonological section]) is by far the most common. Another group of endings appears to revolve around... *K* and variations such as *Kuu*, *K*, *Ky*,' (and especially the glottal catch followed by an echo-vowel).

The Pronoun.

a) Independent forms :

I	*nĭ*
thou	*ĭ*
this one, that one,	*usu*, *isu*, *Pisu*, *masu*
thou and I	*Taa*
ye and I	*Tam·i*
he (or they) and I	*nim·i*
ye	*mi*
they	*im·ĭ*

It is probable that the list was at one time more complete. All these forms apply only to the subjective case; the objective cases are expressed implicitly in the affixed forms q. v.

Reflexivity is expressed by suffixing *-ɣuu*.

Ex : I hit myself *ni-ɣuu Toma*

b) Affixed forms :

These are all prefixed, and express a relation between subject and object (in other words, include the object as well as the subject) :

I-him	*a-*	thou-him,	*u-*	he-him,	*a-*
I-them	*mi-*	thou-them	*mi-*	he-them	*mi-*
I-thee	[O]-	thou-me	*i-*	he-me	*i-*
I-you	*mi-*	thou-us	*mi-*	he-us	*mi-*
				he-thee	*i-*
				he-you	*mi-*

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193 When it is necessary to indicate the plurality of the subject, this is done by means of the independent forms, in addition. Ex : we all of us hit him *niw·i a-Tosa*.

Verbs which would be intransitive in our languages are also subjected to these prefixes : Ex : I went *ni a-mia* (lit. "I went it").

Here again, in the above list, we find the same evidence of leveling from a probably more complete original system. For instance, *mi*-expresses five out of the seven possible relations which include a plural objective. One might be inclined to doubt the validity of the other two cases (*mi-*), but my inquiries were particularly painstaking on this subject.

The Possessives.

Essential possession (i. e. inseparable from the person, like body-parts, relationship terms, etc.) is expressed in only one case : the relationship terms for the 1st person are all preceded by *i-*. Ex : *i-na* my father, my wife *-Kuma*, etc.

Accidental possession is expressed in the following forms :

mine	*ni-Ka*
thine	*i-mi*
his	*u-Ka*
thine and mine	*Ta-Ka*
his and mine	*ni-wi, ni-mi*
yours	*i-wi, i-mi*
theirs	*imi, ima*

The element *-Ka* is the ordinary Genitive suffix in this language.

The Verb.

The verb is simple. It occurs usually in its undifferentiated radical form, except for the incorporated pronominal prefix, which is moreover not obligatory.

Mode appears to be absent. Tense is indicated in the Past by the semi-prefixed word *mo'as*[a] = "already", in the Future by one of the two suffixes *-Tua* or *-Kwĕ*. The Continuative-Habituative by the suffix *-wiu*.

The termination *-K* is frequent and as far as I could make out, optional and devoid of special meaning.

Many verbs use a different radical when the subject is plural. Plurality of the object does not affect the radical. In the semantic list I have always indicated the cases where the radical was ascertained to be the same in the plural as in the singular. Where no mention is made it is because I have no data.

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Grammatical Processes.

I. *Word-Order*. Apparently of little importance.

II. *Affixation*.

Infixation is absent. Prefixation is limited to the incorporated pronouns. Suffixation is but weakly developed (or perhaps decadent). The following suffixes were isolated :

-na Instrumental Case. Ex : *Kwibi-na* = with a knife.

-maT Dative Case. Ex : *i-maT* = to you, *i-Kuma-maT* = to my husband.

-BaT Inessive Case. *q'aiBa-BaT* = towards the mountain.

-Ka Genitive Case.

-c added to nouns has the value of "and", "but", and sometimes of "if"

-Tua, -Kuê, the Future of eventuality.

-win the Continuative-Habituative.

III. *Compounding*. Absent.

IV. *Symbolism* (internal modification, accentual differences). Only faint traces discovered, but probably more will be found in a more complete study.

Grammatical Concepts[1].

Unless other grammatical processes come to light in a more searching study, the grammatical concepts expressed in this language are as follows :

Concept II is almost lacking.

Concept III is lacking.

Concepts I and IV are present.

Grammatical Classification.

This language cannot be classed either as a "Mixed-relational non deriving" language, or as a "Mixed-relational deriving" language, because mixed-relational concepts [III] are not found.

It can scarcely be classed as a "Pure relational deriving" language, because there are only two affixes that express derivational concepts.

Yet it seems rash to classify it as a "Pure-relational non deriving" language. Perhaps the true status of this language is that it is at present in the midst of a stage of transition from a derivational to a mixed-relational conceptual technique. I have already indicated that there are certain signs of the use of symbolical processes.

A deeper study might reveal a great deal in that direction.

1. For the terminology see Sapir's, *Language*, chs. V and VI.

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In résumé, then, and provisionally, the dialect spoken by the Northern Paiute in California may be classified as a *Simple Pure-Relational* language, weakly *Agglutinative* in technique, mainly *Analytic* in structure.

Semasiology.

The following presentation of the semantemas of the language is an attempt to combine economy of space, ease in finding any word, and a semblance of logical grouping of concepts. Such grouping should be of great value for the purposes of lexical comparative work. Alphabetical order has therefore been abandoned for a decimal numbering system.

The conceptual grouping that I have adopted (and which does not pretend to be anything more than a convenient empirical one) is as follows:

1. Nature.....
   - 11 the sky
   - 12 the elements (fire, earth, water, air)
   - 13 time
   - 14 space
   - 15 number
2. The Animals.
3. The Plants
4. Man
5. The Body.....
   - 51 head and verbs related thereto
   - 52 hand » »
   - 53 foot » »
   - 54 body and organs
   - 55 life and psyche
6. The Tool.....
   - 61 special tools and actions
   - 62 material culture

111. sky *Komi'Ba*; sun *TaBa'*; moon *mina'*; star *Pa'TojoBa.*

112. summer *Taza'*; winter *Tom·o*;

121. fire, camp-fire, *goso*; fire, to be burning, *na'e*; to burn (transit.), *Tena'yo*: ashes, *TinibiP*; coals *TubuB'*; to make fire with drill, *mawi'iKg*; fire-drill hearth, *wo'i*; to fan the fire, *wiwa'Ga*; to blow fire, *PuTu·Ga*; warm, *yo'e*; hot, *iTiT*; cold, *iTsiTs*;

122. earth, ground, *Ti·P*; mountain' *q'ai·Ba*; valley, *yiPi'Kay*; stone, rock, *TciPi'*, "rim-rocks", *coPi*; obsidian, *Tu'Pisa*, *Taq'a'*; salt, *na'B'*; colour, *-KwTya'a* (suffixed), red, *asa'*; green, blue, *Pubi*; black, *Tubu*; white, *Toba*; yellow, *oba*; grey, *isi*; mottled, *mon·oc-TaBi'a.*

123. water *Pa·*, rain *Pai'maB*; river *bu'u*, lake *Panën'*, snow *niBaB*, ice *PaTse'goB.*

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124. wind *iKwa*, *biKwaP*.

131. day *Ta BiyaB*, night *Toqan*, morning *nanime*, afternoon *TaBin* (?); all the time *aToe*, now, here *ya*, then *yaic*, already, past, *mo'an*. 196 192

132. Continuative-Habituative *-win*, Future *-Tu'a*, *Kwi*, Conditional *Ka-* (?).

141. large, big *PaBa*, tall, long *oTé*, round *PaTsi'Pon·o'a*, square *momu' Tsatya'a*, flat, level *PaTa'Kwen·e'e*, small, little *Ti·Tse* (*-Tse* Diminutive), short *mi·Tse*.

142. north *Kwina''aBa*, south *Pana'Kw*, east *TaBa'Tami* (Cf. sun), wes *mana'BaTema*; up *Tugu'P·a*, down *TiBo*; here *ya'a*, there *o'o*, where? *hane* (from the interrogative *ha*); right *Té'maDain*, left *Di'naKw*.

151. [the numerals are usually given with the suffix *-yu*]: one *cē·mē'*, two *waha'*, three *Pahe'*, four *waTse'Kwe'*, five *ma·ne·Ke'*, six *na·'Pahe'*, seven *na·Ta'KsKw* eight *wa'·KaDo*, nine *cēwa' ·KaDo*, ten *mano'*, from eleven to nineteen: formed by one to nine followed by *-maT siPoK* "added to", twenty *waha'mano'*, twenty-one *waha'ma cēmē -maT siPoK* (i. e. "twice ten and one added"), twenty-two *waha'ma waha'-maT siPoK* ("twice ten and two added"), etc..., thirty *Pahe'mano'*, thirty-one *Pahe'ma cēmē-maT siPoK*, etc..., hundred *KwayT*.

152. and, with, etc. *na*, *ono*, *noqo*; *-c* (suffix; also used to express Conditional); very *ini*; not *q'ae*, question *ha*.

153. only, single, *zi'ma*, *yaic*; all, everyone, *no'oyon*, *no'oqo*.

200. animal (no general word); hide, skin *Pihi*; antler, horn (same word as forehead *aa*); tail *Kwasi'*.

210. buffalo *Kutsu'* (now "cow"); grizly bear *oha·yo'na*, cinnamon bear *co·na'*, black bear *KaKw*; deer *TēhēTy*, *TēhēTc*; elk *Pa-TihēTc* ("big deer", apparently same lack of a distinct semantema in several other Shoshonean languages); doe *xaPi'aB*, fawn *iwa'*; antelope *Tin·a*; horse (see "dog"): cow (see "buffalo"). 196 192 136

220. puma *Kakwi'-Toho* (see "bear" and "lynx"); lynx *Toho''o*.

230. dog *PoKo* (now "horse"), *caTi'i*; wolf *ica'a*, coyote *iza'a* (cf. "wolf", also the appended Text);

240. mountain-sheep *Ko'yP*.

250. rabbit *Tabo'o*, hare *qam·ō'*; porcupine *TsaGui'Tē*, beaver *Kohi'i*, marten *Pa-TsuGo*, skunk *Pọṇi'Tce*, weasel *Pa-BiTse*; groundhog *KiTē*, ground-squirrel *TsePic*, gopher *KooTse*, rat *TēKa'wa*, mouse *PuṇaTs*, mole *ya·'TsiP*.

260. bird (general word) *huTsi·Ba*, feather *TiTam·a*, egg *an·oho'*; quail *TuKTa*, grouse *Paqogo'o*, crow *aTa'*; golden eagle *Kwina'a*, bald-

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196 192 [136] headed eagle *Pasia'*, vulture *wihi'*, chicken-hawk *TaBuTsi Kwi'i*, sparrow-hawk *Kisi'*; heron *PoiKwasa*, crane *wasa*; duck *KuTa*, geese *naKiT*; woodpecker (flicker) *aTsa'Ba*.

280. fish (no general word); salmon *aq'a'i*, trout *PaKwi'*.

290. spider *caaT*; grasshopper *caDoDa'a*, cricket *nizyo*; *mabiP*. horse-fly *PiPiT*, bee *nobTa*, butterfly *Tso'd'nene*; worm *wo'aB*.

196 192 137 300. wood *Ku·na*, dead-wood, fire-wood *PasaP*; root *Tina*, trunk *niwia* bark *aPo'a*, branch *ma'na*, leaf *caaKy*, sap *axoPi*.

311. tree (general term) *PobiKya'i*; pine *wogoP*, pine-cone *q'aa*, juniper *wa·P*, fir *q'aTaB'*, spruce *winiP*, poplar *sina·B'*, willow *ci·B*.

312. mountain mahogany *Tupe*.

320. grass (general term) *waba'Bi*, wild buckwheat *aTsu'*, tule: *caiB*, *PiBuP*, *Toyo'Ba*, foxtail *monoPi*, tobacco *Pacmu'*.

330. wild onion *haP·e*, wild turnip *buni'Boe*.

340. nut *obo'*, pine-nuts *TiBa*.

350. berries (of juniper tree) *apu·i*.

360. wild plum *Toyo*

370. seeds *PubiK*^{w}*Tya*

196 192 410. person; people *neim·i*, man *na·na*, woman *mogo'ne*, old man *wa'eTs*, old woman *Piya'waBi*, young man *naTs*, *TuimiTsi*, young woman *Tsia''a*, little boy *naTi'*, little girl *Tci''a'*, baby *oba'a*.

[601] 420. paternal grandfather *Kiwu''u*, maternal grandfather *Togo'*, paternal grandmother *huTsi'*, maternal grandmother *mu'a'*; father *na*, mother *Pia'*, paternal uncle *hai'i*, maternal uncle *aaTs*, paternal aunt *Pahwa'*, maternal aunt *PiTo'*; elder brother *PaBi''i*, younger brother *Kwana'a*, elder sister *hama'a*, younger sister *Pine'e*; son *Tua'*; daughter *Pati-*, nephew or niece [through a brother] (uncle speaking) *huza'*, id^{e} (aunt speaking) *aDa'Tsi*, id^{e} [through a sister] (uncle speaking) *manaK'*, id^{e} (aunt speaking) *miDo'o*; husband *noTi'K*^{w}, wife *Kuma'*, father-in-law or mother-in-law *yahi'*, brother and sister-in-law are composite terms made up of nephw + mother, niece + son etc.

430. I *ni*, thou *i*, you and I *Taa*; he, she, it, this, man, etc. *nu*, *isu*, *masu*, *Pisu*; myself, yourself, himself, etc. *-zun*; (essential possession) *i-*; accidental possession *-Ka*; [Refer to the grammatical sketch].

440. shaman *Puba'gam*; chief *PaBi'*.

450. strong *ini*, small *TiT·i*, pretty *TaBia*.

460. Paiute *neim·i*, Pit River Innian *ici'cawi''*, Klamath *PaKwi'Diq'a*, Modoc *ca'i''iDiq'a*, Maidu *TaKone*, Warn Spring Indian *aga'Tsi*, white man *TaiBo'o*; Local bands of Paiutes: see Ethnography.

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510. head *Tsoq'PĭGi*, forehead *aa'*, nape *q'awo'TsoP·a*, hair of head *soPĭ'ĭ* neck *q'uTa'*, Adam's apple *woTo'*, collar bone *Tai gu'DaP·ĭ*.

511. eye *Pu·ĭ*, to see *Pon·e*, to search *naT*.

5120. mouth *'ĭiP·a'*, lip *TĭP·a'-q'a·'Kw*, chin *q'amu'*, tooth *Ta·ma'*, tongue *iqo'* (perhaps *i-qo* = my tongue), hair of face *musu'i*.

5121. to eat *TĭKa'* (pl. same), to drink *hiBĭ'* (pl. same), to bite *Gĭĭ'* (pl. same), to spit *TubiP*, to taste *Tim·a*, to suck *PiTsĭ'*.

5122. to tell (*Tĭ·K*) (pl. same), to ask *Tĭ·Bin'* (pl. same), to call *Pa'i* (pl. same), to cry *yaga'*.

513. nose *musĭ'*.

514. ear *naqa'*, to hear *naqa'*, to listen *naqa Pin·a* (i. e. "re-hear"), deaf *qae naqa dawa·qa* (not hear ?).

5200. hand *ma·i*, finger *mawĭ'an*, thumb *Toq'*, index *Poyn*, arm *PĭTa'*, wrist *mawĭ' Dzago* (Cf. ankle), nail *TsiTu'*, elbow *maTsĭ'bi*, shoulder *Tsoa'Bi*, forearm (like arm).

5210. to touch *Dzam·a'*, to feel *wĭm·a'*; heavy *nĭnĭ'Kwi*, light *yaya'Kwa*, smooth *PataKwĭn·ĭ'a*, rough *PoBoTaq'a*, soft *yuTsoq'a*, hard *oboP*.

5221. Dative case *-maT*; to have, to have got *GaT* (pl. *Tya'yu*); to take *Kwibĭ* (pl. *bĭ'ma*); to give, to send *mametc*, *mamiya*, *sa'a*, *maKim·a'*, *mamĭ'TyaK*, *Kia'u* (pl. *bimĭ'u*).

5222. to make *ban·e'* (pl. *mabin·e'*); to stretch *TsaToDoB'*, to tear *Tsq'a'u*.

5223. to hit *Tona'* (pl. same); to push *Ton·o'yoy*, to pull *zama'*.

5224. to put, place *oaTKĭ* (pl. *'Tĭu'na*); to lay down *haP·ĭ* (pl. *Pukwa'*).

530. foot *KiKĭ*, leg (from hip to ankle) *PĭKa'Bĭ*, hip *Tsim·u'*, knee *mia'wo*, ankle *Tawĭ'zog*, sole *TapĭDa*.

531. to go *mĭ'a* (pl. *naw.ti*), to depart *mia'o* (pl. *mia''o*), to walk *mĭ'an·o* (pl. *wayo'gan·o*); to come *Kim·a* (pl. same), to come back *Kim·a'o* (pl. *Kim·a'a*), to go up, down, formed by go + up, down; to run *Pizam·ĭ'a* (pl. *Tano'oBane*); to jump *naTa'winai* (pl. *naTa'waTiyu*); to roll *Tĭma'bik*; Inessive case *-BaT*.

532. to carry on back *no'o* (pl. *no·n·o*), to carry in arms *saTyaKw'*, (pl. *saTĭ'man·o*); to bring *o'sa* (Cf. to give, send).

534. to stand *wĭn·ĭ* (pl. *q'on·o*), to fall *hanoaq'a* (pl. *abitayc*), to rise *yobTsi·ĭ* (pl. *yozĭ·u*), to lie *habĭ'TaBe* (pl. *Pukwa'u*) [Cf. to lay down 5224], to sit *qaTĭ* (pl. *a·Ta*).

535. to kick *wumu'DzewaT* (pl. *wumu'Dzegwat'*).

5410. back *buPĭ'wayT*, belly *Tsii*, chest *nina'Bĭ* breast *Pibĭ*, milk *PiDza'*, buttocks *TsaBo'*.

5420. skin *Pibĭ* (Cf. breast 5410), also *Tsibo'PoDo*, bone *obo'* (Cf. *oboP* = hard).

196 5430. blood *Pïï*, fat *Tyuhu*, sweat *Kuna'a*.
192 5440. heart *iDïT*, vein *Pawï'*, liver *niwi*, guts *cii*.
5450. anus *TsaBï* (Cf. buttocks 5410), to defecate *Kwii·a*; testicles *nagï'*, phallus *Kwia'*, cunnus *cuu*, clitoris *uiTsi*, pubic hair *su·bï'*, menstruation *nama'Dagai*, to copulate *eq'o*.
55. to think *ɀuhan·i*, death *Tia'u*.
611. knife *Kwibi*, ax *KuTsa'no*, to cut *TsKya'u* (pl. *TsiBoqa'u*), to chop *KuTsan* (pl. *Poq*), to cut meat with flint flake *Taqaa* (Cf. obsidian 122).
612. Instrumental Case *-ma*.
621. bow *Poɳǫ's·a*, bow-string *PagaKwi*, arrow *huaBe*, arrow-point *Pizu'-ma*, obsidian arrow-head *Taga*, arrow-shaft *wa'aTï*, grooves on the arrow-shaft *TiTsaP·o*; poggamoggan war-club *TiP'i TaPon·o*; elkskin armor *TobPï*; to kill *BaTsa'*, *q'oï'*, to fight *nabko'e* (pl. *naqoya*); to hunt *Tïboa'wa'i* (pl. *nay'mo'a*); war *naa-Kwï'*.
622. digging-stick *Poto*.
623. mocassin *mo'q'o*, legging *Kosa*, snow-shoe; *ciKï*, beads *Tsw'-meBi*, ear-ring *nagKa'gwe* (cl. ear *naq'a'*), necklace *TigaKya*; breechcloat *PiTsaPoyo*, loin-cloth *oPizin·aKwe*, *ToPaDa'a*; shirt *was·i*.
6241. house, tent, camp *noBe*, door, window *Tawaq'*.
6242. to cook *sa'a* (pl. same), meat *aTuku'*, metate *maTa'*, to grind seeds *Tucu'*, mush, soup, *noko*, to eat mush with the fingers *ige*, spoon *KoDo'o*, bread *TiKa'Ba* (Cf. *TïKa'* = to eat)
6243. basket *woBoi*, *Tsam·i'na*, rabbitskin-blanket *wiKya'*.
6244. buckskin *naconoyaB*.
6245. to buy *TïmïK* (pl. same).
625. smoking pipe *Tois·a*.
627. tule boat ("balsa") *saKi*.

TEXTS.

Conversation.

193 1. You saw us last summer when we came with our baby.
muas Taza' ninumi yao mo'o mi-Tua'-no-s
already summer we (excl.) here come us-son-with-and
i mi-Pon·e
you us-see.

2. This time I came alone without my wife and without my baby.
ya· nï q'ae i-noTc·Kuᵉ-no Kim·a i-Tua'no

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here I not me-wife-with come me-son-with
ni cē'mē Kim·a
I one come

3. Next year you will see us if you come.
Bin·a Taza' ī mi-Bon·e-Tua ī-s^a Kim'a-s
next summer you us-see-will you-and come-and

4. When I go back this winter I will look for beads and send them to you.
mia'-s nī onaT Tso·meBi Pon·e-Tu'a-s isat
go-and I (hunt ?) beads see-will-and (then ?)
nī ī-maT u-maKim·aKī-Tu'a
I you-to them-send-will

5. I will tell my wife to send you the beads.
i-noTe·Kw a-TēKwe-Tu'a u-sa'a usu ī-maT
me-wife her-tell-will them-bring she you-to
u-mamiyaKī-Tu'a
them-send-will

6. Send them to my husband.
i-Kuma-maT a-mametck
me-husband-to them-send

7. I called you but you did not come.
nī ī-Pa'i-c ī q'ae Kim·a
I you-call-and you not come

8. I already called you.
nī moa's^a ī-Pa'i

9. Are you going to town this afternoon?
ha ī town *nawai-kwī TaBin*
? you town be-will to-day

10. No. I have already been there this morning.
moa'su nī town *nanīme*
already I town morning

11. If you go again, bring me some potatoes.
ka-mi'ano PaTe·Ta TēmēK
(?) go = again potatoes buy

12. All right. I will bring you some.
u-sa'a nī
it-bring I

13. I will buy bread and meat.
TēKa·B aTuKu'-nogo Tēmē'K^a-Kēw nī
bread meat-with buy-will I

14. Where is my knife?
han·e Kwibi

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193 15. That's my knife and that's your knife
ni-Ka Kwibi-s imi Kwibi
I-of knife-and your knife

16. I cut it with your knife.
imi Kwibi-ma nī a-TsKya"
your knife-by I it-cut

17. Cut it! *a-TsKya"*

18. I am cutting it. *nī a-TsKay'-win*

19. I am cutting all the time. *nī a-TsKya'-win aTa'a*

20. I chopped it with the axe.
KuTsan'o-ma nī a-KuTsa"
axe-by I it-chop

21. The dog drank all the water.
saTi'i Pa' biBiu noqo
dog water drink altogether

22. The dogs drank all the water
mī saTi'i Pa' biBiu noqo

23. I saw a dog and a coyote together.
saTi'i-noqo iza'a nī u-Ponne
dog-with coyote I him-see

24. Everybody went to fight the forest-fire.
qoso-no naqoya noqo neim'i
fire-with fight all people

Episode from the Coyote-Wolf Cycle.

193 539 193 1. *iza'a na PaBe'e ica'a noBe Tya'ya*
Coyote with elder Wolf camp had
brother (house)
Coyote lived with his elder brother Wolf.

2. *ha i BaTsa'TaBī PaPa'Bau KiDi*
? you kill very big ground-hog
"How do you manage to kill such big ground-hogs?"

iza'a a-TiBin Ti-PaBe'e 3. *TciPi*
Coyote him-ask elder brother Rocks
Coyote asked his brother. "(I call:) Rocks.
i-Tima'biK KiDi i-Tima'biK
you + me-roll ground-hog me-roll
roll down on me" and ground-hogs roll down on me.

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PaPa'Bau ẓī'ma nī q'oi' 4. *Pis u*
very-big only I kill He
I kill only the big ones". Coyote

mia'o iẓa'a 5. *ooPī i-Tima'biK*
depart Coyote rim-rocks me-roll
went to the rim-rocks " Rocks, roll down on me!"

6. *KiDi u-Tima'biK u-PaPa'Bau ẓī'ma*
ground-hogs him-roll him-very = big only
Ground-hogs rolled down on him and he killed

q'oi' 7. *qac īnī na q'oi'*
kill not hard and kill
only a big one. " That's easy hunting ".

8. *nī skwana naPia' TiKa'-s* 9. *naPia'*
I wish here eat-and here
I might as well eat it right here". And he

TiKa' 10. *u-Kema'BaT usu' mia'*
eat he-move the go
ate it there. He oved to another place.

11. *ooPī i-Tima'biK KiDi u-Tima'biK*
rim-rocks me-roll ground-hogs him-roll
" Rocks, roll down on me. " Ground-hogs rolled down on him.

12. *naPia' TiKa'* 13. *u-Kema'BaT usu'*
there at he-move he
He ate right there. He moved to another

mia' 14. *ooPī i-Tima'biK* 15. *ooPi*
go rim-rocks me-roll rim-rocks
place. " Rocks, roll down on me." Nothing but

yaic u-Tima'biK naTa'winai-c Kwasi' Taq'aa
only him-roll jump-and tail cut
rocks rolled on him this time. He was jumping around but his tail was cut off.